

# VOTES FOR WOMEN BY 1915 HER PREDICTION

## Harriot Stanton Blatch Tells of the Plans and the Hopes of the Suffragists in New York—Their Political Power Is Increasing and They Believe Victory Is Only a Matter of Time

By HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH  
President of the Woman's Political Union

IF the women of New York State make intelligent use of the means at their disposal there is no reason why the men of the State should not have the opportunity to enfranchise at the polls in November, 1915.

And when this question is submitted to the voters of the State I shall have no fear of the issue. The sentiment against sex discrimination in regard to political rights, as well as in regard to other matters within the province of the government to regulate, has been increasing at a much more rapid rate than the opponents of woman suffrage imagine, and the instant it becomes possible for that sentiment to register itself through the ballot our victory will be assured. The goal is well within sight, but that does not mean that we can reach it without strenuous and steady effort, unflinching vigilance and an almost unlimited supply of that patience deemed by some to be a natural endowment of women.

The vote may come to us in one of two ways. We may get it as a matter of fact and commonplace result of the suffrage wave that is sweeping over the West and the middle West or through definite political work on our own part. Getting it in the first way means years of waiting, a long series of disappointments and utter discouragement and disenchantment for many of our most faithful workers. It is almost inconceivable too that the citizens of the Empire State should contemplate with any degree of complacency the idea of falling meekly into line behind the middle West. The logical way for us to obtain the rights of citizenship, which are now denied us, is to create a political situation which will make our enfranchisement a practical necessity.

All the important advances in manhood suffrage made during the last sixty years have been the outgrowth of definite and imperative political problems and have been effected without violence. The conferring of the ballot upon the American negro, for instance, was done by the Republican party purely from motives of expediency and was not attended with even such manifestations of excitement as we expect in the average election campaign. Some persons talk as if the civil war had been fought for the purpose of giving the negro the full rights of citizenship, when as a matter of fact it is not at all likely that even Lincoln himself at the beginning of the war contemplated so much as the possibility of freeing the blacks from slavery. The Proclamation of Emancipation was merely a war measure, and the extension of the franchise to the negroes was a perfectly obvious way of increasing and maintaining the strength of the party in power.

Gladstone was swayed by similar motives when he brought in the county franchise bill in 1884. The Liberal party needed the votes of the farm laborers. Of course, as it turned out, the Tories and not the Liberals benefited at first by the new order of things, but eventually Mr. Gladstone's point of view was vindicated.

The enfranchisement of women has come so far for the most part in a quiet and humdrum manner in sparsely settled places. It must not be forgotten that even in California it was through the farmers and not through the dwellers in cities that women won the vote. San Francisco said no to the amendment, but was outvoted by the combination of the smaller cities and the country districts. In congested communities the suffrage is a more strenuous question than in those where there is more room to breathe and more time to live, and in England and in New York State we can hardly hope for it to come quietly like a thief in the night. It must of necessity be a definite and conscious political measure.

### Plan of the Suffragists.

The militant suffragists in England have succeeded already in making their cause an issue over which the most prominent men in the kingdom have fought with open bitterness. The situation here is altogether different. We cannot hope for any assistance from either of the old political parties, because we haven't any real system of party government in this country. The fact that a Democrat brought in a certain bill, even with the approval of the Democratic leader, wouldn't entail upon the rest of the Democrats an obligation to vote for it in order to keep the party in power.

Our electoral system, which makes it possible for the executive branch of the Government, both State and national, to be politically entirely out of sympathy with the controlling party in the Legislature has the effect of making the party lines much more indefinite than they are in England. Furthermore, no party in America could count on getting the solid female vote. Politicians realize perfectly that women would split up on party lines much as men do and for much the same reasons, except where some question was at issue that especially appealed to women, when they might throw out all previous calculations as to the way things were going by suddenly massing themselves into an independent voting force. Neither party sees any use in having its voting strength augmented if its rival is to have a proportionate increase, and both parties fear that as an independent force we would be at the best an intolerable nuisance and at the worst a menace to some of their carefully laid schemes.

Our only chance lies in building up a political plan from our own side, and it must obviously take the form of work with individual legislators and candidates for office. Our methods must be based upon what knowledge we have of the psychology of those who signify their willingness to be chosen to serve the people.

This much we have learned. No one is so sensitive, so shy, so coy as a man who is running for an elective office. He picks his way along through difficulties as carefully as a cat treads an English brick wall guarded by jutting pieces of glass. He watches the scales every minute to see which way they are about

to turn, and even a small adverse force appearing in his constituency worries him. He doesn't know just what effect

it may have, and the smaller his assured majority the more he worries.

The Women's Political Union began to cut its political eye teeth in 1909 when special elections were held to fill the places in the Legislature made vacant by the deaths of Senators McCarron and Baines. We went over to Brooklyn and sounded the suffrage sentiments of the candidates for McCarron's seat, and sent Mrs. Betty Graham up State to see what she could do in the Baines district. We are sure that we made some impression upon both politicians and voters even at that early stage of the game, and the experience we gained was most useful to us in our next venture, a carefully organized campaign against Arthur W. Ward in 1910.

MRS. ELIZABETH FREEMAN,  
ARRESTED NINE TIMES IN ENGLAND  
CHARGED WITH ASSAULTING POLICEMEN.  
NOW IN NEW YORK AS ORGANIZER,  
WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE PARTY

Ward's Majority Reduced.

Mr. Ward was a candidate for the Assembly in the Twenty-fifth district, a Republican stronghold. He held dozens of open air meetings all through the district, and the Saturday before election twenty speakers addressed a big crowd from illuminated trucks in Union Square. Mr. Ward's friends thought our attack was of sufficient importance to endeavor to neutralize it by driving through the streets on a truck decorated with transparencies announcing that "All the girls like Ward except the suffragettes," and other sentiments of a similar nature. We didn't succeed in actually defeating Mr. Ward, but it was admitted that we materially reduced his majority, which was much smaller than the Republicans were in the habit of polling in that district.

Our campaign against Louis Cuyler in the Thirtieth Assembly District in the fall of 1911 was much more strenuous. We opened a special headquarters in Harlem and held a dozen or more open air meetings every night for two weeks before election day. We distributed thousands of leaflets explaining why we wanted to defeat him, and we conducted a house to house canvass covering the whole district. Miss Elizabeth Freeman, who was in charge of the headquarters, made out a complete list of the Democratic voters in the district from the primary lists and from the registration lists in the City of New York, and the canvassers had all this material to work with.

We should have defeated Cuyler had it not been for an irregularity in the

district convention of the Independence League, which, according to the decision of the Supreme Court made it impossible for the league to place the name of Powker, the Republican candidate, in the district, in their column as they intended to do. The space was left blank, accordingly, and the members of the league did not realize that if they wished to vote for Powker they must put a cross opposite his name in the Republican column.

The result was that 886 of those men didn't vote for any one for Assemblyman, and Cuyler won by a majority of 290 votes. We were successful, however, in a similar campaign that we carried on under the direction of Miss Caroline Lexow in the Twentieth District of Kings, for there we defeated Carow, the Democratic candidate, and the Republican, Bennett who got in, voted for our bill.

We have now the facilities for conducting more of these campaigns next fall, and in a more machine-like manner. We

MRS. JEAN NELSON PENFIELD, CHAIRMAN,  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY.

MRS. THOMAS H. BUSSEY,  
MEMBER LEGISLATIVE  
COMMITTEE NEW YORK  
STATE SUFFRAGE  
ASSOCIATION

MISS VIDA  
MILHOLLAND,  
AN ARDENT WORKER  
IN THE  
SUFFRAGIST CAUSE

MRS. HARRIOT STANTON  
BLATCH,  
PRESIDENT  
WOMAN'S POLITICAL  
UNION.

MISS HARRIET MAY MILLS,  
PRESIDENT NEW YORK STATE  
WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.

### The Men They Oppose.

We make a point of speaking and working against a certain candidate whom we wish to defeat rather than of working for his opponent, not because we take

any special pleasure in defeating an enemy rather than in helping a friend but because we wish to keep our issue perfectly clear. If by helping Democrats to get in we could influence any appreciable number of Democratic legislators to support our bill, or if we could by a similar course of action prevail upon the Republicans to make it one of the chief features of a session it would doubtless be worth our while to show our strength in that manner.

As I have pointed out before, however, there would be no possibility of that. The result of that sort of campaigning would be the acceptance on our part of responsibility for all shades of political doctrine. We should also lay ourselves open to continual reproaches from candidates whom we did not work for. Socialists and Progressivists would say when ever we tried to put in a Republican or a Democrat:

"We believe in your cause, we have had it in our party platforms for years. Why don't you help us?"

We have made it a rule, therefore, to attack men who have a bad record, not only on the suffrage question but on other matters, and do our best to defeat them. The only arguments that will appeal to a politician are those which touch his relations with his constituents. If he thinks that a certain group of persons can reward him by electing him to office, a man already in office, make his chances for re-election by his party rather than by his constituents, he will usually be very willing to find out just what that group demands of him, and consider seriously whether it won't be to his advantage to accede to their wishes.

Petitions and letters and delegations don't amount to much in the way of influencing a legislator's vote, unless he realizes that there is a formidable voting

block in the other sex. And it is this realization on the part of men that makes them oppose woman suffrage. The suffrage movement is already bringing thousands of women together in one great sisterhood whose ranks are constantly increasing. Its ideals are rapidly breaking down all sorts of outworn prejudices and traditions and women who are working for the emancipation of their sex have already differentiated themselves from those who are content to go on living after the fashion of fifty years ago. They are beginning to trust each other and to invite the confidence of other women. Many women come to me and tell me their troubles and ask for my advice who would not think of seeking me out if I were not a suffragist.

It is obvious, too, to one who reads the signs of the times that many thinking men are beginning to shift their point of view a little and are wearying of the doll type. More than a hundred women have emerged from the timidity of nonentity and are doing their work out in the world just as men do it. These women are deserving of every respect and of all the encouragement we can give them, and it is very largely in the interest of this group that most of the activities of the Political Equality Association are planned.

The dancing classes, the singing classes, the talks on hygiene, the lectures on art, music and questions of current interest as well as the suffrage meetings are all designed to broaden and brighten the lives of women and girls who have not the facilities they need for recreation and self development. Many of those who came to our headquarters through motives of curiosity or a mere desire for amusement have since become ardent suffragists, and the association has now a paid membership of more than 2,000. Working women are very quick to see the connection between the vote and economic conditions when the matter is properly presented to them, and when they once become converts they prove themselves earnest and able allies.

The rapid increase in our forces makes the outlook very encouraging, for as soon as we present an undivided front to the enemy our cause will be won.

EDUCATIONAL WORK OF  
EQUAL SUFFRAGE SOCIETY

The Equal Franchise Society, which was founded by Mrs. Clarence Mackay in 1909 differs somewhat in scope and in its general method of propaganda from the other suffrage organizations in the city.

The majority of its members, among whom are Mrs. Robert Goetz, Mrs. Howard Mansfield, Mrs. Henry Wise Miller, Mrs. Edgerton Winthrop, Mrs. Schuyler Warren, Miss Caroline Duer, Mrs. Philip Lydell, Col. George Harvey, Mrs. W. Burke Giesman, Mrs. Almonzo R. Hoplum, Peter Townsend Barlow, Mrs. Frederick Nathan, Mrs. William Cunningham Story and Miss Mary Garrett Hay, are confessedly conservative and agree with Mrs. Mackay who maintains that it is necessary to carry on an extensive educational campaign among the women of the State

before making any very aggressive demand upon the Legislature for the submission of a suffrage amendment to the voters.

In accordance with this idea thousands of pamphlets setting forth reasons why women should work for their own enfranchisement were sent out from the headquarters in the Metropolitan tower, copies of lectures by well known speakers were given during the winters of 1910-11 and 1911-12 in the Maxine Elliot Theatre, and in January, 1911, the society joined with the Women's Political Union and the Collegiate Equal Suffrage League in presenting a series of tableaux after famous paintings at the same theatre. The society also defrayed the expenses of a legislative campaign in Albany during the winter of 1910-11.

Mrs. Mackay, who gave up the active leadership of the organization in November, 1911, commented somewhat sadly in her annual report on the fact that while the average attendance at the suffrage lectures had been only about 150, people were struggling for standing room at the tableaux exhibition.

"The house was packed," she said, "and the suffrage cause in this city was undoubtedly helped by the admirable qualities of the historic ladies on the stage and by those who represented them. It would seem as though picture cards were more interesting to those opposed to suffrage than lectures."

Mrs. Jessica Finch, who was elected to succeed Mrs. Mackay in the presidency sailed for Europe last February, leaving the active management of the society in the hands of its first vice-president, Mrs. Pearce Bailey, whose rhymed satire, "Portia Politics," published serially in the *Women's Voter* has greatly increased the circulation of that periodical. Mrs. Finch upon her return resigned the presidency, and was succeeded by Mrs. Bailey, who will retain the office until the annual election in November.

The chief activity of the society during the last winter has been the establishment of a well catalogued suffrage library in its new headquarters at 8 East Thirty-seventh street. The reading room is open to the public every day, and during certain hours in the evening. Some well known suffrage speaker has given a talk to working girls in the reading room every Saturday evening, and a series of suffrage teas at which the members of the various local suffrage organizations have been guests have been held on Wednesday afternoon. A large mass meeting at which Mrs. Mackay presided was held under the auspices of the society a few weeks ago in Carnegie Hall.

The Gallant Rooster.

From the Farm and Fireside.

Male chickens are often so gallant that they give their part of the food to the females and get into poor flesh. When this is observed to be the case, little boxes or hoppers of mixed grain and dry mash should be hung upon the walls of the chicken house, high enough to be out of reach of the females but readily reached by the males.

With these arrangements the rooster is enabled to feed himself without feeling under obligations to turn his food over to the lady chickens.

Now I feel pretty sure that the next Senator from that district will hesitate a little before he breaks faith with the suffragists even at the dictate of his leader. If our May parade doesn't convince the politicians that enough women want the vote to make it advisable to supply the want, we shall have to go on with our political demonstrations until not a single man in the Legislature fails to understand that we are watching his record, and that if he veers ever so slightly from the path he should pursue we shall consider it our duty to show him up to his constituents.

Either next year or the year following will be a negligible one, of course so far as our bill is concerned, since it must be passed by the Legislature of 1915 before it can go to the voters, but we shall not make the mistake of relaxing our vigilance next fall just because we can't get it again if we don't succeed in keeping out all the anti candidates. Mr. Cuyler will have to fight us all over again. He runs in the Thirtieth Assembly district, and this time we shall be more wary about district conventions and other preliminary matters.

After all, the most any politician of all the politicians together can do is to put off our victory a year or two longer. The woman suffrage movement in this State is too big, too vital, too well organized to suffer anything more than a temporary delay in attaining its purpose.

force back of them. Thousands of signatures to a woman suffrage petition don't count for as much as the defeat of one man who refuses to pledge himself to vote for the bill.

It is because of these conditions that I am so firm believer in military. There comes a time when military methods are worse than useless and when the only chance for victory lies in carrying the war right into the enemy's camp. But by military I do not mean any form of violence, neither do I mean the mere making of noise.

The destruction of property and other forms of mob violence when employed on a sufficiently large scale were more or less effective fifty years ago, but in these days of flying express trains, telegraph, telephone, and wireless, when a regiment of soldiers can be summoned to almost any spot at a moment's notice, the picturesque habits of a mid-Victorian populace when discontented prove futile.

### Women in Earnest.

But New York women have no excuse for being ineffective. We have enough enrolled suffragists in New York city alone, to say nothing of the numerous associations throughout the State to make me at Albany realize that the women among their constituents who want to vote are not a group of faddists or fanatics, but a sane, well organized body of citizens who are deprived of what is at once a privilege and a duty of citizenship—the right to express their opinions at the polls. And Albany is beginning to understand that the women of New York are in earnest when they ask that the men of New York shall have the opportunity to order the word "male" to be eliminated from the suffrage clause of the State Constitution.

To demonstrate that the attitude of our legislators toward the votes for woman proposition is beginning to change it is necessary only to consider briefly the fate of the bill in the last three sessions.

In 1910 it was not reported out of committee. In 1911 it passed the Senate committee, but was defeated in the committee of the whole. This year the Senate committee reported it favorably without a hearing, and after the Assembly committee had reported it adversely the House revoked the decision. That last week of the session was a very harrowing one for those of us who had some measure of hope that the bill would actually go through. On Monday night an error was discovered in the bill which necessitated its going to the committee on revision. That of course meant that it would be held up in the rules committee unless some special action were taken to get it out.

Representatives of all the suffrage organizations worked as hard as they could getting signatures to a petition to have it called out of the rules committee and succeeded in getting 75 votes—more than were needed for a majority—in time to get it out Thursday night.

On Friday the Assembly passed the bill by the necessary majority, and Miss Caroline Lexow and I rushed over to the Senate to see whether it would be possible to have the bill voted on before adjournment. When we went back to the Assembly chamber, Louis Cuyler, our ancient enemy, was making a double motion to reconsider the bill and lay it on its table. Mr. Murray immediately rose to a point of order, contending that as Cuyler had not voted in favor of the bill he had no right to make a motion to reconsider. The Speaker replied that they were simply considering the motion to lay on the table and a majority voted on that proposition.

I contend that the Speaker's ruling was incorrect, because Mr. Cuyler, who had no right to reconsider, was the only person who made such a motion, and without a motion to reconsider it is impossible to move to lay on the table a motion that has been carried. Had it not been for the Speaker's opposition our bill could have gone through to the Senate, and probably would have passed. As for Mr. Cuyler, I do not think he conceived the idea of killing our bill by the ingenious method he employed. That plan was the work of the Speaker, and Mr. Cuyler was merely the cat who pulled the clockwork out of the fire.

### Results Already Reached.

As for the Senate, we had some curious complications there also. For instance, it was noted that Mr. Ferris of Utica, after agreeing to pair with Senator Newcomb, who was unable to be present when the vote on the bill came up and who was strongly in favor of it, voted against it obviously in compliance with the vociferously expressed command of Senator Wagner, the majority leader. Then of course there was Senator Pollock's headache, so bad a headache that he was obliged to sit in the park while the voting on the bill was in progress.

We had our revenge on Senator Ferris. When Miss Lexow held a big meeting in Utica, his home town, and told him that he had done the audience called for Senator Ferris to come and explain why. He came in response to a telephone message, and didn't seem at all glad to be there. He received a loud burst of applause from the audience, however, when he concluded a very lame speech of attempted self-whitewashing with the remark:

"Well, anyway, I'm not going to run again."

Now I feel pretty sure that the next Senator from that district will hesitate a little before he breaks faith with the suffragists even at the dictate of his leader. If our May parade doesn't convince the politicians that enough women want the vote to make it advisable to supply the want, we shall have to go on with our political demonstrations until not a single man in the Legislature fails to understand that we are watching his record, and that if he veers ever so slightly from the path he should pursue we shall consider it our duty to show him up to his constituents.

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MRS.  
O. H. P.  
BELMONT  
PRESIDENT  
POLITICAL  
EQUALITY  
ASSOCIATION

companion and helmsman to her husband. But he makes the money down town and she spends it up town. She does not stand by him, nor does she represent him. The only class of women in this country who seem to me to measure up at all to the men are the self supporting ones. This should not be so, I always found my greatest happiness in work. When it came to the question of building a house I went into an architect's office and worked with the regular draughtsman. I was the first woman in New York who

a desire to retain all the power in their own hands, have converted the women into paid dolls. They have taught women to look to them for everything and have fostered in them an antagonism to each other. Men cling together and support each other. If a quarrel occurs among men they join in shielding the one who would suffer through publicity. Among women exactly the opposite spirit prevails and men encourage it. They realize only too well that as soon as women unite they will cease to be under